1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[p. 26b]

616 south of Lemoore, and Brown Wilson, nineteen
622 years of age, the toxelyuwiš chief. The latter succeeded his father [Motsa]. In response to my question, it was stated that the toxelyuwiš chief was regarded as slightly superior to the nutuwuts chief. Anciently, in case of warfare the two chiefs acted in concert.

Although the Tachi roved within their habitat, the principal village (čeemit) of the Tachi was Walna, at the northwestern corner of Tulare Lake. There were dual chiefs there, one for each moiety. The earliest chief remembered by the informant was a toxelyuwiš chief named K'anti, whose totem was the eagle. When this chief died, he was succeeded by his son who bore also the name of K'anti.

The nutuwuts chief at Walna, contemporaneous with the younger K'anti, was José (baptismal name). The contemporaneous chiefs K'anti and José were friends (noičiwas), but not relatives, so far as the informant knew. The two modern chiefs of the Tachi are distant relatives of K'anti and José.

José did not inherit his chieftainship from his father Čoliwai, who was not a chief, but a shaman (anču); Čoliwai was a nutuwuts man of the coyote totem. José was his son by one of his many wives. José was appointed chief by the nutuwuts people because the preceding chief died without male heirs and his daughters did not want the position.

José was married twice. From his first wife Meyula he separated. José's second wife, Motsi, was a female toxelyuwiš chief at the present village near Lemoore. She was nomi-
[554] nated for this position by her second husband, Bob Bautista, a nutuwuts man of influence in the community, being a rattle-shaker and singer (wipelit). Before becoming chieftainess Motsi had the crow for her totem, but following her elevation, the eagle. It was said that the toxelyuwiš chief always had the eagle for totem. This example seems to strengthen the case for an association in the Tachi mind between the chief of birds and the chief of men.

The chief's messenger is called winado and the message feather which he carries is called laasis. Over the shaft of the feather beads are slipped, one for each day referred to by the message, as, for example, when a group is invited to a ceremony at a fixed time.

622 Powers mentions a Tachi chief, one Santiago, who had two sons, Ka-teh (Kanti?) and Ku-to-mats, "of whom Kateh was the first-born, but he [Santiago] designated the other to succeed him, because, as Kateh ingeniously acknowledged, 'he was the smartest'."[41] This was
● [176] about 1871. J.A. states that "after Kanti died his spirit returned [went] to a place called Kantu over towards the northwest where there is a large church and many Mexicans living. Kanti's spirit is in that church."

Moieties

616 The Tachi, M.G., gave information on moiety manifestations and the classification of

[41] Powers, 371.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 316]

764 Vista hills, in Tulamni territory, included some skeletons painstakingly wrapped in strings or tules and others incompletely cremated before burial.[79]

775 The ghosts of the dead were believed to rise in two days and travel westward to the afterworld which was ruled over by a chief, Tipa'knats (supernatural power one). There life was reversed; the dead slept by day, danced and enjoyed life at night; food was abundant and inexhaustible; a living person smelled foul to the dead. Ghostly relatives lived in the same domestic groupings as in life. These beliefs, practically uniform for all Yokuts people, were embodied in a myth about a man who followed his dead wife to the afterworld and who thus brought knowledge of it back to the living.[80]

SUPERNATURAL POWER AND SHAMANISM

Acquisition of Power

787 M.G. offered the following information on
756 Tachi beliefs regarding supernatural power.

Not all people dreamed to get power nor, if one did, need he become a shaman. Many men and old women got "unprofessional" power. Women were never shamans.

If a significant dream came to a person he went out and "talked to it." He went some distance from his house, smoked a little tobacco, and scattered on the ground crane (ko'ɬat) down (eagle down was too dangerous). This was done whether the help was accepted or rejected; to ignore a dream helper's offer of power would make one ill. If the helper was accepted, a fast was maintained throughout the following day. The helper was called ana'čwal. Cooper's hawk (pohiyon) was a "strong" dream, i.e., this bird was the bestower of strong power.

756 Kroeber gives us the genesis of a Tachi shaman.

The prospective Tachi doctor bathes nightly for a winter in pools, springs, or water holes, until the inhabiting being meets and instructs him, or comes to him in his sleep. In one such hole lives a six-mouthed rattlesnake; in another, a white water snake; in a third, a hawk which can occasionally be seen flying into or out of its home below the surface.

A Chunut man became a shaman by dreaming and fasting. If he wanted great power he would let a black spider (metsa)[81] bite his tongue;

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[79] Handbook, 499.

[80] Gayton and Newman, 17-19, abstracts 140, 141; Gayton, The Orpheus Myth, passim.

[81] Metsa means "true," authentic," in this case referring to black spider's great supernatural power.

764
767 look back for your family." Then they filled in the earth. They were paid for this work, and cleansed themselves by bathing.

775 The spirits of the dead went toward the sunset, where the red clouds are seen as their red paint. The chief there is T:p: 'kn:ts; he is like a person and is prayed to. His daughters, who wear rattlesnake dresses, help people cross the dangerous bridge to the afterworld.[111]

769 When the Annual Mourning Ceremony took
767 place, the buriers had a special dance (to'onči'ma) which they performed very early every morning. The winatum went around and woke everyone, saying that it was time for the dance to start. The dancers wore a costume of bones "all tied together," false hair of shredded willow bark which hung down the back, and false ears made of jackrabbit tails. They carried digging sticks in their right hands, and each had a burden basket on his back. The four performers stood in a row, while the corpse-carrier led their singing. They kept time with their canes. The mourners who came to join in the singing brought food (seeds or acorn meal) which they gave to the buriers at the end of the performance. The recipients snatched it and threw it over their shoulders into their baskets; if they did not accept it instantly when offered, it was thrown in their faces.

838 All of the buriers were called tonoč:m,
767 but not all were transvestites. The apparent women usually were, but the men, like Wilihana, dressed and occupied themselves normally.[112] The transvestites dressed as women and went seed-gathering with them. M.A. did not know what determined such a changed life, but was certain there was no special dream force behind it.

769 M.A. added that when visitors arrived for a mourning ceremony, they were lined up by a winatum and paid a little money. This was done for everyone regardless of whether he brought food to contribute.

SHAMANISM

756 M.A.'s father was a rattlesnake doctor. He could make rattlesnakes appear at any time and at any place; he "made them come down from the sun." When M.A. was little, her father

[111] Gayton and Newman, 19.

[112] It is possible that such men were not transvestites but were in homosexual relation with those who assumed the female role.

prayed to and dreamed about. Tobacco (ǒo´gən) was eaten with lime and vomited to stimulate dreaming. Anyone could do this who wanted to; P.D.W. denied ever using tobacco this way, a denial which seemed doubtful. Eagle down was scattered at sacred moments at certain springs, probably when prayers were being made.[23]

Doctors cut and sucked when curing. If the patient did not improve, the practitioner danced, called on his dream helper (anatsiwal), and dreamed for further power. Sickness was caused by intrusion; a bad shaman could send something into one; this might be an insect, or some small object, or the "airshot" (toi´yəs) which they were said to manufacture.

Ghosts frequently caused sickness called hoču´nač. The spirit of some dead man would catch a victim after dark and insert a long hair in his forehead. To cure this a doctor cut at the end of the nose and sucked, with long audible inhalations and rapid brief exhalations. The hair he extracted might be "as long as your arm."

A malicious ghost could even make one crazy (ale´ta), an ailment which doctors could not cure. P.D.W. said he "saw that tried once at Squaw Valley" but the attempt failed.

Poison (ta´wats, dead person ?) was differentiated from airshot, but P.D.W. was "afraid of that and didn't want to talk about it." As elsewhere, the source of poisoning was attributed to southern doctors. "After that [the Ghost Dance] the Tule River doctors got mad when they got home. They danced all one night and made poison. People got sick all around."

An anecdote of P.D.W.'s curing was related by J.A., the Chunut, who was herself cured of headaches by another Choinimni doctor, Səmti´wis.

About 1927 a Choinimni woman suffered from an abdominal ailment; she dreamed she should be cut approximately over the uterus. She went home to have P.D.W. do it. When he cut and sucked, "he got out nothing but blood" [i.e., no intrusive object], and the woman has continued to grow worse. Some people, for this reason, doubt his abilities, others have faith in his power. J.A. implied, however, that P.D.W. himself claimed no special skill.

The other Choinimni doctor, Səmtiwis (Bob of Bobtown), was visiting at Dunlap and could not be interviewed. In curing J.A. of headaches he sucked out a "little white pointed thing" from a cut at each eyebrow. His own daughter had a pneumonialike sickness attributed to her eating of raw, cold gooseberries shortly after giving birth to an infant.

[23] Latta, op. cit., 38.

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[P. 158 a] DUMNA

756
789 ko´no·no·

si li ka´na·ha·
[repeated twice]

This B.W. could not or would not translate. The first and second words are probably "song renderings" of rain (se'el) and water (i´l·k) and supernatural power (t·pni).

[821] When there was a big rain and one wanted to stop it, one would strike a dog. The cries of this animal would be heard by a celestial dog who caused thunder and controlled [?] the weather.

BELIEFS

715 B.W. said that his father told him the dead got up in three days and went above, where God is. B.W.'s dead brothers and sister were already there.

776 He conceived God as God (not t·pni or
177 Eagle), but Jesus Christ as the ya´y·l hawk and son of Eagle.

773 Thunder is the result of noisy behavior
821 by Roadrunner, Blackbird, Raven, and Dog, who are above in the sky. The big dog, whose name is Ya´ol·č, makes the most noise. "He can hit anything and smash it down. He is mean. He makes all the big rains." When he hears the cries of a dog on earth, who is being beaten because of the rain, he makes the rain cease. B.W. had never heard of thunder being twins or associated with tule.[42]

An eclipse of the sun or moon is caused by an eagle spreading its wings over it. B.W. could remember no attempt being made to change this condition. (See Kechayi information.)

805 Three seasons, which are the natural moods of the climate, were distinguished: tiša´miu, spring, about February to April; hai'a´lu, summer, May to October; tomo´ksiu, winter, November through January.

CEREMONIALS AND RITUALS

796 Jimsonweed ritual.---Jimsonweed (ta´nai)
276 was taken in the spring; "in the summer it was poison." Two Choinimni took it in the summertime and died. It was drunk by both sexes. This informant said he took it each spring with his father and uncle; yet, as in other matters, he was unable to bring his mind to bear on details. He claimed "people quit eating meat for one year before taking tanai."[43] During that year the person went out each night regardless of the weather and talked prayerfully

[42] Hobonuch and Chunut beliefs, respectively.

[43] Perhaps this was only for the first taking. If it was taken each year, as B.W. claims he did, the drinker would have to become "vegetarian."

586 Divorce was usually caused by sterility, though the usual practice was for the man to have a child by another woman; "he didn't bother to leave his wife unless he disliked her." When a man left his wife, he took only his personal belongings and not more than one horse, if he possessed any. When a couple separated, the parents-in-law usually remained good friends and did not return any gifts which had been exchanged at betrothal.

Death

763 When a death was imminent, a winatum was [624] sent to notify relatives on both sides of the person's family. Kin beyond the degree of first cousin were not usually notified, E.M. thinks, but this depended on how friendly a 764 relative had been with the deceased. A daughter washed and dressed the corpse; if there were no capable daughter, the mother would. This was regardless of the sex of the deceased. The corpse was laid on a pallet or deerskins on the floor, and the mourners all marched around it as doleful songs were sung by the professional corpse-handlers (čowe´'ič). This performance was kept up as continuously as possible for two days.

764 The corpse-handlers had prepared the cre- 767 mation fire and carried the corpse to it. Everyone came, the mourners sitting near by wailing, the onlookers joining in. After two days the corpse-handlers gathered up the bones in a [285] basket and buried them. The basket was a special, well-made, "pretty" one of conical shape called ponik. Who made or supplied this E.M. did not know. The corpse-handlers were paid for their services.

765 The period of mourning was indefinite. A widow cut off her hair, stayed quietly near her home until the large mourning ceremony was made, a period of one or two years.

767 The corpse-handlers were not transvestites, so far as E.M. knows. She stated that her paternal grandmother's sister, Woji´lit, was a normal woman, but followed this profession. She thinks that these people "grew up that way," i.e., with a desire "to get rid of the dead." They had no special totemic or dream helper, and "worked" for either moiety.

775 After death the spirit of the deceased went north until it came to a river. If it crossed this successfully, it went up; if it failed, it went down.

766 An unusual burial.---To illustrate an exceptional burial E.M. told the following anecdote which was related to her by Šaha´ma, an old Posgisa man.

This old man had gone out to help the women with seed-gathering. They went toward Table Mountain. Two strange boys were around hunting and, high on the cliffs of the mountain,

[P. 192 a] Kechayi

BELIEFS

773 825 Wainus.---This was a great serpent, large enough to wrap itself around a hill. It was extremely powerful with supernatural force [ṭ:pni]. The wainus inhabited almost any locality but would not appear "unless some doctor or some ṭ:pni person wanted to see them." Their appearance was accompanied by a severe windstorm; they were not man-eating or malicious.[71]

[756]

787 775 Ghost-wailer.---Long ago a "ghost-thing," an old woman, would wail in the evening. People went out to try to find her. She was visible, but they could never really get near her. Her wailing was taken as a sign that a Gashowu chief was going to die.

801 777 Ritual or lucky number.---E.M. was not conscious of any personal preference among numbers, nor did she recognize the concept in her culture; this in spite of the frequent recurrence of six in her various accounts.

773 Flood.---When E.M. was a little girl she heard old people talk of a great flood which inundated the Northern Foothill region. "There was water all over the earth." Many people were drowned. Those who lived saved themselves by building houses on high frames and going up to them with ladders. One can still see by the gulches the effects of this flood, i.e., the rushing waters made the gulches.[72]

VARIOUS CEREMONIES

Dances and Rituals

796 756 535 Pleasure dance.---This dance (h:č:'šna) was a favorite performance for evening entertainment. While the chief actually ordered the performance, anyone could suggest that it be given, and the suggestion in all likelihood would be sanctioned by the chief. It was done at any time of the year. The dancing usually "started after supper and lasted until midnight."

The performers were two shamans, two women, and six "plain" men. They were accompanied by two singers (hata'm:š [?]) who used the clapper (ta'wats). Those whom E.M. recalls were: Čokon:k and Ha't:š, the shamans, and Ke'mas and Ku'ba'ld:č, the women. The "plain" men she does not recall by name. The two women were sisters and celebrated dancers, but E.M. does not think they had dream help with their accomplishment.

The doctors wore the usual ceremonial regalia -- feather headdresses, skirts, and ear plugs. The other men wore breechclouts, beaded belts, and ear plugs, and probably any other

[71] Cf. Rogers and Gayton, Twenty-Seven Chukchansi Yokuts Myths, 206-207.

[72] There is no physical sign of flood to the layman's eye. This formation of land was also attributed to the primeval flood by the Dumna informant.

[P. 197 a] Chuckchansi

764 was moving from a description of old to more recent practice.

A long time ago they didn't bury people, for there was nothing to dig graves with [sic]. They piled up wood and laid the body on the pile and burned it. Later on they picked up the bones and put them in a good basket. Then they dug a hole in the graveyard, close to the burning place, and buried the whole therein. No mark was put on the grave. The burying ground was just an open ordinary field.

When they are ready to bury, they pack the body over to the cemetery, put it right in. No one made a speech or special comment, although many people would come for a burial -- from Picayune, Roundhouse, and all around. Then, afterward, all those visitors went home; but the local people remained living where they were.

768 Sometimes the dwelling of a man was burned at his death, as well as all his possessions. "They don't leave anything he had." Then the family would build another home. A widowed woman's new home would be built by one of her male relatives who "would come right away and fix her a little house to live in." Some male friend would do this if she had no masculine relatives. It was fixed so she could live as she had before. No pay was given for this work. A widow would be given meat by her father: "in the evening when he came home he would give her some of what he got." [Presumably this refers to a woman who had no sons to provide meat for her. -- A.H.G.] She remained close to her house.

587 The levirate was not practiced, said J.R. At least he knew of no instance. After a year a widow was free to marry anyone as she wished.

769 Many people feared to approach a graveyard, 753 especially at night, for they said they could ●775 see people moving around there, although they did not know who. "Something from over there [in the cemetery] would get out from the graveyard, make some of them sick, scare them. Then they got sick forever [incurably], maybe die, some of them. They used to die that way."[126] These frightening emanations did not touch a victim, but remained aloof. "People got sick just because they got scared. The spirit doesn't give them anything. People just think they see it," said J.R.

765 Mourners singed off their hair, its shortness indicating the intensity of grief, said 302 N.W. A daughter mourning her father cut her hair halfway up her back, but a widow mourning her husband would crop hers short. All close female relatives of the dead indicated their mourning by some shortening of hair. This was accomplished like all hair "cutting" by means

[126]Compare the fatal malady, a psychic trauma, brought on a Pomo by ghost-fright. (Loeb, Pomo Folkways, 323).

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 198 9] Chuckchansi

761 787 immediately killed. If a hen crows (sic), a woman is dying.

825 A man who was bitten by a rattlesnake and recovered was able to stop excessive thunder and lightning by merely going out and shouting [824] at it to cease. [This was, apparently, a specific incident known to J.R., but the familiar yet elusive connection between rattlesnakes and lightning, known from other Yokuts, persists. -- A.H.G.]

775 Afterworld.---The dead stayed in the grave three nights, said C.D. Then its soul [illegible]shade went west (hoxim) and never returned (sic).

[753] Spirits of the dead caused sickness, sometimes merely a nose bleed, other times fatal illness. It was necessary to get a shaman to cure ghost-sickness.

●775 825 L.W.'s mother [tribe?] said her people thought the dead turned into birds and animals. [Perhaps a misunderstanding of the transformation of the people of the prehuman era into birds and animals ? -- A.H.G.]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Officials

622 There was but one captain (chief) to a village, said both J.R. and M. "Whenever there is a big time he calls people around." The captain, said M., decided when the Mourning Ceremony was to be held, or any other feast or ceremony, but he had no other function. She maintained that the captain himself went about from one village to another to tell them his plans: he would come down here, then go up to Ahwanee, and so on. No one else went for him. However, this statement seems in doubt, particularly as J.R. accurately described the usual Yokuts official messenger and his duties.

The following chiefs were named by J.R. Sloknič was the Chukchansi chief at Aplau. His younger brother was his assistant chief. Sloknič was already an old man when J.R. was about fifteen years of age. Dawil was the Chukchansi chief at Picayune. Pinto Joe, whose Indian name was not known, was another Chukchansi captain. J.R. thinks he may have been "some relation" to Sloknič. Sloknič had a son, but he was not mentioned as a subsequent chief.

624 Each captain had an official messenger, called wina'tum. This man was selected by the captain and retained his office for life. [Not a totemic, family-inherited position, apparently. -- A.H.G.] This informant, J.R., stressed the messenger's functions at the time of the Mourning Ceremony.

He would take news down there to Picayune and tell the people how many days it would be till the fandango, or something. When they came up here, everything would be ready for the big time. All that man does is "taking news from here down there, give them orders to be

-1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 203b] Chukchansi

668
796 When the Ghost Dance was introduced at Wasamo, J.R. was about ten to twelve years old. A few whites were about, but not many. Chinese [177] and Mexicans were looking for gold; there were Chinese camps all along Fresno River.

A group of people came from Bishop Creek [775] and told the people at Wasamo that their dead had returned to life, that "they had come up out of the ground." They told the people at Wasamo to dance; that, when the dead came, they would bring with them a small piece of food ["Indian food"] which would prove to be inexhaustible, no matter how much was eaten from it.

They danced in a circle, men and women [535] holding hands and dragging their feet. There was no special dress: the aboriginal costume [302] was still in use. However, in the morning after bathing, red clay was put on the face. This red paint was brought from Bishop Creek, as the Miwok and others did not have it.[142] The men from Bishop Creek sang while the others danced. These singers each had a single eagle wing feather tied on the head "with some kind of rag." No one else wore feathers. The dancing continued all night and in the morning everyone went to bathe. Even little children were put in the water and washed.

This initial event lasted about one week. About a year later, after more people had died, there was another. J.R. thinks that there were about three of these dances in two years. There was the first at Wasamo (or at Ahwahnee ?), another at Bill Basall's (Bersell's), which is the site of Aplau, Sloknič's village, and another near here at Totono which is about a half-mile across the creek from J.R.'s present house. The dances were abandoned after that because no dead people came back: Said J.R., "Never seen one back here yet!"

SUPERNATURAL POWER AND SHAMANISM

Sickness

754 Several anecdotes of illness were told by
776 N.W., whose father-in-law was a shaman. In spite of the fact that she believed this man, Xatali (Bill Wyatt), responsible for the death of several of her children, she bore him no grudge; in fact, claimed that the fault was not really his. He was a good man: the illnesses and deaths he caused were due to his being subject to his supernatural helper's will. His helper was Coyote. He killed seven of N.W.'s children "because if he didn't kill his own son's children, he would die himself. Coyote would tell him to do it or he'd die." After
754 N.W.'s seven children were killed, she "didn't have any more left, so he had to die himself."

[439] [142] Red paint was a trade article between Eastern Mono and Yokuts. It was not newly introduced at the time of the Ghost Dance, as implied by Powers (p. 361).

W Y 764 Burial took place the morning after death.[175] All the mourners followed the corpse-carrier, walking slowly. As the body was let into the grave, in sitting posture facing north [sic], the carrier made an address accompanied by wails from the onlookers.

"You will never see this person again. This poor old man is gone. Don't worry too much, just take it easy." And to the corpse's spirit, "Don't bother anyone. You're gone. Now go!"

Women, and some men, were afraid of the ghost.

Then all the deceased's possessions -- clothes, bows and arrows, or baskets -- were put in the grave. Then everyone took handfuls of earth and filled it in. When all was done, the corpse-carrier announced, "Go home!" And W Y all went directly and briskly home: it was essential that there be no deviating nor loitering on the way. There was no purification by the mourners or corpse-handlers. [783]

W Y 767 All the duties connected with the burying of the dead "went in families," according to S.O. The corpse-handlers were called, generically, tonočim, and ghosts of the dead were their totems. However, both S.O. and B.O. thought that the individuals themselves were not transvestites. It appears that both men and women worked at the same time and the workers, at least in washing and carrying the body, were of the same sex as the deceased.

W Y 775 539 Afterworld.---A dead person's spirit is called tawa'tsan i'nil (Michahai), .tso'ape o'haba'wa (Waksachi). This may be equated with soul or ghost, as a person has but one spirit; it is the same entity which has dream experiences and is, during life, vaguely located in the heart. The following was related by S.O.

The spirit lies in the ground two days and one night, then on the second evening it leaves just after sundown. It goes west, far beyond our sight [it does not go up]. There is one little road to go. Far, far away he reaches a huge expanse of water. Now he is getting close to the dead. Here, on this side is one big chief (tia'a) sitting in his house. The chief calls the traveling spirit in and asks him where he belongs. When he learns his tribe, he tells him where he will find his dead relatives and friends when he reaches the land of the dead (tibi'kni·č).

There is a little bridge that goes clear out over the water -- a long, long bridge. When the spirit is far out on it, a water creature flashes up to scare him; if the spirit is frightened, he will fall in the water never to recover. But if he pays no heed to the creature, he will reach the far shore where many fires can be seen burning. People over

[175] A death occurring at or after midnight would call for burial, not the next, but the next-after-next, morning, i.e., roughly 24 to 36 hours elapsed between death and disposal.

there see the new spirit coming; they go to welcome him and lead him to his relatives' fire. Games and dancing are in course everywhere. But when the morning star rises, everything disappears until dusk, when it becomes visible again.[176]

Mourning.--The house in which death occurred was always abandoned; although it was not invariably burned, no one else would move into it. The former inmates built themselves a new house, not necessarily far off -- "fifty feet maybe." Mourning observances were maintained by bereaved spouses, parents, or offspring; siblings, cousins, grandparents, or relatives-in-law did not observe them unless the circumstances of life -- propinquity, or physical or emotional dependence -- had brought them abnormally close to the dead person. The length of time mourning endured depended again on the degree of bereavement. A widow was expected to mourn a year, a widower but three months, as minimal periods. Usually a small personal ritual ended deep mourning, so to say, after three to six months, but spiritual mourning and the meat tabu, continued until the large annual tribal mourning ceremony was held.

The observances of mourning were as follows. The hair was singed off close to the head with a hot charred stick; the hair was always disposed of in water and weighted down with a stone, never buried nor burned [reason unknown to any informant]. Dirt was allowed, even encouraged by the use of pitch, to accumulate on the face and body; only the hands were washed. No meat or grease might be eaten, although yellowjackets' nests (tabu to pregnant women) were admissible as food. No visiting was done save among relatives, and attendance at any ceremony was unthinkable. A brooding attitude was maintained, and old women frequently released their melancholy in wailing outside the village at dawn and dusk.

Verbal observances by others who were not themselves mourners were: a tabu on the name of the dead person, the changing of one's name if it were that of the deceased, and the changing of kinship terms for relatives connected with the speaker through the deceased. The changing of one's name was not a difficulty, as only one person in a family -- usually a paternal grandchild, grandnephew, or grandniece -- could possibly have it. The change need not be permanent, as the tabu was lifted after the Annual Mourning Ceremony. Furthermore, a change could be made by phonetic distortion, as in kinship terms, if one did not wish to take a wholly new name. Nicknames were often coined and applied at such times.

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[176] At this point B.O. volunteered the "Orpheus Myth" in order to explain to me how the nature of the afterworld was known to man (see Gayton, Orpheus Myth; Gayton and Newman, 35).

[P. 252b]

W Y 796 668

"We are having this dance, and we want to tell you what we have heard. Where we got these songs and dance one man told us about what is going to come.

"We are having this dance for a dead man. He is where we got these songs.[300] After a few more years this dead man is going to come from where we got these songs and dance. Right now that man is very far off, he is at watsatsa´ošao pa´´a n:m (the crack-in-the-world our home) way off to the east. There is a fire there all the time, playing [games], and dancing all the time. The people there disappear in the daytime. We are making this dance for those ghosts (i´n:l). You must do this all the time. Then there will be no more getting sick and dying."

W Y [775]

W Y [783]

Tapunači also told the people to swim or bathe themselves each morning. But no verbal ritual comparable to baptism was prescribed and, as morning bathing was customary with Yokuts and probably Western Mono, this was probably a reëmphasis of native custom.

Then the dance began with singers using songs which were meaningless to S.O. The only one he recalls is this:

he´bar:n, he´baya, he´nani
[repeated over and over]

W Y [535]

Dancers of both sexes indiscriminately joined hands and, facing inwards, circled to the left [clockwise]. Never did they go in the opposite direction in this or any other dance. The arms were bent upward at the elbows, and the clasped hands beat downward at each step. The dancing continued until the company was exhausted, when they sat down to listen to a short exhortation by Takaš, Košowi, or one of the Wobonuch singers. The alternate dancing, preaching, and resting were continued from about eight o'clock in the evening until daylight. There was no sequence or climax to the routine, so far as S.O. knew. Although "any kind" of clothes were worn, all the participants had red and black paint on their faces. The common pattern was three horizontal lines (male) or rows of dots (female) across the cheeks and nose.

W Y [309 83]

Eventually there were so many participants that two concentric circles of dancers were formed. The singers sat between two fires within the circle. When speakers addressed the company, they stood in front of the singers.

W Y [517]

During the day the people were free to play games or do as they pleased, but the majority were so tired that they merely bathed, slept, and lounged. This continued for six days.[301]

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[300] Presumably in the Land of the Dead where the Paiute originator of the cult may have journeyed in his trance, as did most prophets of such movements (see Spier, The Prophet Dance of the Northwest and Its Derivatives).

[301] S.O. omitted any hint of the final routing of the dancers by white settlers, an episode of which I later learned elsewhere.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

hair belt recurs as far to the north as the Shastan tribes. Its distribution is likely to have been continuous over a wide area, but there are reports of its use from only a few points.

The dance rattle was the same cleft stick as prevails over all of central California; likewise, the cocoon implement was associated with the shaman. The deer-hoof rattle of parts of northern California and the turtle shell and gourd instruments of the south were unknown. The flute was the usual tube, blown from the end over its edge; the holes were commonly four, grouped in pairs, but without definite rule as to relations of distance. (Pl. 43, *b*.) It was thought to have been invented by the falcon. Drums were not employed by the Yokuts: the foot drum of the Sacramento drainage appears to be part of the dance house. The bull roarer was called *hinhinna*, *huhuudech*, or *hmhm'udech*. It was a toy; but whether it had other purpose and potency is not known. (Pl. 44.)

PRAYERS.

Short prayers in fixed form are spoken on a variety of occasions and are evidently a definite element of Yokuts culture.

When there is an eclipse, this is said:

> Leave me a little of the sun!
> Do not devour it altogether from me!
> Leave me a little!

If one wishes to drink of a strange body of water, he says:

> Let us live long in this world!
> This is our water!

The dead are addressed thus by the Tachi:

> You are going to another land.
> You will like that land.
> You shall not stay here.

There is here an expression of the world-wide sentiment that the career of the departed in this world is finished, that the break is final, and that any attempt at return can only be disastrous to the living and is not desired.

As the language knows no exhortative of the second person, nor any form corresponding to our precative "may," these speeches are either in the unvarnished command of the imperative or direct statements in the indicative mode.

One of the most usual Yokuts offerings is tobacco; another, at least among the hill tribes and those of the south, is eagle down.

The ritualistic number of the Yokuts is most often 6, sometimes 12, not infrequently 7; 3 occurs occasionally, but it is not certain whether with any sense of significance. The universal 4 of the north central tribes, and the 5 and 10 of the northwestern Indians appear to be meaningless to the Yokuts.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

THE NAMING OF INDIANS

551 The giving of names among the Indians was often a most interesting practice. Among some tribes it was customary, after the child was born, to give it the name of the first object seen from the doorway of the house. In some instances we are told that the name was predetermined by presenting a desirable object in front of the door, so that it would be certain to be the first object seen. This name was intended to be temporary, and was later discarded.

Some children grew to be three or more years of age before they were given a permanent name. When the child was old enough to exhibit some characteristic, or perform some deed, it was remaned.

I knew two *Wukchumne* brothers who, when small, were named the Indian equivalents of Sunny Place and Dirty Face. The first was so named because he would leave the other children, who were playing in the shade, and go to a sunny place where he would play by himself. The derivation of the other name is obvious.

Renaming was in some instances done several times. An [553] Indian was likely to be renamed whenever he performd some act which took the fancy of his associates. It was more often done when the child was taken into the tribe, at which time a more or less permanent name was given him.

To my knowledge, only two Yokuts families have preserved Indian surnames, the Ichows and the Pohuts. Pohut is Yokuts for squirrel. Ichow is a name given by Sierra tribes to turtle. *Tawpnaw* attempted to preserve his name, but it was changed to Tupino by white associates.

551 The dead were very much respected by the Indians. They believed in a surviving spirit and were very careful after death ● 775 to avoid provoking or disturbing that spirit. As a result of this, until after the *Lonewis*, care was taken that the name of the deceased was not spoken. It was feared that the spirit would be awakened. Probably in most cases it was feared that the spirit would answer to the name. The Indian did not want spirits prowling about any more than we do. In some tribes it was customary after death to change the name of the deceased. In this way any chance of disturbing the spirit was avoided.

This is not an extinct taboo. While completing this manuscript I learned that I had neglected to obtain the Indian name of Doctor Bob, an aged *Chukaimina*, who died in Squaw Valley

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29
Western Mono NS25

Y 551 775

many years ago. It developed that only one person knew his Indian name. This person was *Wahnomkot,* an aged Wukchumne. But she could not tell me the name, or tell it to anyone for me. Her half-brother had been given the same name. He had recently died and she could not speak the name until a decent period of time had passed. So, in this volume, Doctor Bob's Indian name cannot be used.

W 551

Among the Indian names of the Sierra an interesting example was that of the *Halawanshe* (Hah-lah-wahn'-she) family. They belonged to the *Pahdwishi* tribe and lived on the Kaweah River in the vicinity of Hospital Rock. With the passing of Grandmother Halawanshe several years ago that family passed out of existence, the younger generation having taken a name from the white men.

Y 551 [221]

In the days of the primitive red man, before the coming of the Spanish, the tribes migrated, as the season of the year brought game or fish to the various rancheria sites in their territory. In accordance with this custom the Indians moved every fall from the rancheria at Hospital Rock.

Y 224 551

Upon one occasion, when returning to Hospital Rock, an old bear and two very young cubs were found occupying the cavern under that great boulder. The Indians tried for some time to dislodge mother bruin, but she had apparently decided to locate there permanently, and refused to move. After some discussion it was decided to imitate their brother of the fields, the coyote. Many American settlers have seen coyotes stealing pigs and know the system they used.

In stealing the cubs, what was called an "Indian fence" was built. The Indians formed a wide semicircle in front of the shelter and each held a long pole in front of him with the butt resting on the ground.

Other Indians stood behind the fence with their spears and bows and arrows ready, while two Indians approached the mother bear from different directions. As she gave chase to one of the Indians he retreated and was allowed to slip through the fence. Then the Indians behind the fence shot arrows at the bear and jabbed her with spears, while those in front raised their poles and threw her backward into the circle.

Upon the occasion of the removal of the mother bear and cubs from beneath Hospital Rock, two brothers, whose names were *Tripne,* (supernatural) entered the circle from opposite directions. The first Indian retreated and was closely

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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Jennie, an aged **Wukchumna**, and her granddaughter. This photo is of importance because the granddaughter has on the bridge of her nose the marks of fresh cuts made by a medicine man. Her grandmother has on her nose the scars of such doctoring. Both have their hair bobbed in mourning. Jennie was a **Chumlus** at the great Eshom Valley Ghost Dance. Photo, taken about 1890, was furnished by Jesse G. Pattee.

159
769
[775]

Then you bury your father, mother, maybe your wife. You put everything in ground and all decay. We *burn* good clothes and they *do not* decay. They go to *Tih-pik'-nits Pahn* [the hereafter] so our dead person always has good clothes to wear. What do you think?

On the sixth morning everyone was dancing when *Tow-ahn'-itch*, the morning star, was beginning to fade and it was getting daylight. The Teah called, "He'-ahm tahn'-hin," and everyone ran to the creek to be washed. The dancing and singing and crying of the Lonewis was over. We could be washed and dressed in our new clothes and have a big feast of meat and let our hair grow again.

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The *Chumlus* had our new clothes and new baskets to wash us in. She washed my mother and me. We took off our clothes

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

and went in the creek. The Chumlus washed us clean and dried us. Then she put our new clothes on us. She had already been paid for the clothes and the new basket she had made to wash us in.

Everybody now has a good time. They sing, "*He'-ahm lo'-hin Lo'-ne'-wis,*" the Lonewis is over. They go back to the fires and have a big feast. They have acorn bread and all kinds of meat: roast antelope and elk and jack rabbit and squirrel and beef. They they have a big dance for fun and get ready to go home.

Everyone is tired and happy and feels good until someone else dies in the family. When I was a little girl our people died so fast that we were getting ready for Lonewis all of the time. That is why I remember it so much.

The Lonewis at *Sulawlahne* and one at *Watot Shulul* were the biggest I ever saw. But I went to about a dozen pretty big ones before I was grown.

YOIMUT'S STORY
TIHPIKNITS PAHN

When I was a little girl I heard several times the story of the Yokuts Land of the Dead, which we call *Tih-pik'-nits Pahn.* Pahn is our name for "land". Tihpiknits is the name of the great bird person who rules over the dead. The *Wowol* (Wo'-wol) and *Chunut* (Choo'-noot) and *Tachi* all had a story just like this. I heard some of their old people tell it lots of times. When we were sitting around the camp fire in the evening *Watite* (Wa'-tih-te), the ground owl, would call and then they would tell the story. I know it best of all my stories.

The last time I heard the story of Tihpiknits Pahn it was told near Visalia by Nahalets (Nah-ha'-leets), last chief of the *Telumne* (Ta'-lum-ne) Yokuts tribe which lived around where Visalia is now. I was about eight years old then.

Nahalets told the story during the last *Lonewis* (Lo-ne'-wis), or crying for the dead people, that was ever held at the old *Telumne* Yokuts village of *Wa-tot' Shulul* at Visalia. At this Lonewis almost all of the Indians became sick and died of measles and we never gathered there again.

Tihpiknits Pahn is the place where the dead Indians go. It is six nights journey to the north. Only the good people can get there. The dead people dance a Lonewis, or crying dance

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS?9 Yokuts NS29

775 there every night, just like they used to do here. They play games and have a good time. They eat *toi'-uk* seed mush which never gets any smaller, no matter how much they eat. In the morning they all disappear and nothing can be seen of them until the next night, when the *Win-at'-un* [dove, the messenger] builds new fires for the dances and calls them all back to their natural selves. You may walk through any nice place in the trees where the Indians hold their Lonewis dances for Tihpiknits Pahn. In the daytime you can not see any of the people. They have changed into a rotten log, clam shell, or something. At night you have to be *Trip'-ne* [supernatural] to see them. I never saw them. I just heard Indian doctors say that. But we always go very quiet through a nice place out in the trees.

775 825 In Tihpiknits Pahn, *Ki'-yu*, the Coyote, and Tihpiknits are always playing the old game of *Hih'-sa Na'-us*. When Tihpiknits wins, someone of us must die and go to Tihpiknits Pahn. When Kiyu wins he tries to bite Tihpiknits and pulls feathers from him.

Kiyu throws the feathers that he pulls from Tihpiknits to the south and the north wind brings them to us in the form of the first white geese of the winter. When we saw the white geese come we used to say, "Well, I guess Kiyu won that time". When we heard *Watite* (Wa'-tih-te), the little ground owl, call in the evening, we knew Tihpiknits had won and that someone was dying. Watite was the Winatun for the Ahanich who sang at the Lonewis.

159 825 Watite, the little ground owl, lives in squirrel holes. His head looks like an Indian woman's head when she has cut her bangs and her hair off with a fire stick and is crying for someone who has died. We used to sing a nice song about him. It is a *Wowol* song. My mother taught it to me. When I cried about anything she would hold up her first finger and say, "*Lahn'-he*, listen, Watite hears you crying and he is singing for you." She would make a little play. She would put her hand on top of her head to make it flat like Watite's. She would make a move with her other hand like she was cutting her hair off and cutting her bangs for the Lonewis. She would stand on one leg and draw the other up like Watite does. Of course my mother was an old woman when she died. But I remember her to sing this song for me when she was a young, pretty woman. She was always good to me. Every day she

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

159 825 [537]

would sing and laugh and dance for me. Before she finished the song I would be laughing. It went like this:

Po'kook ..	*Yo-patch'-noo* ..	*Tah'-eh nek'-tah*
(ground owl call)	(as of old)	(I have a flat head)
Yo-patch'-noo	*Ma-wih'-sin*	*Pih-tre'-no*
(as of old)	(I cut with fire)	(my bangs)
Yo-patch'-noo	*Teh'hiks*	*Nahm*
(as of old)	(my leg hurts)	(me)
Yo-patch'-noo	*Too-lo'-lool*	*Nim o'-tro*
(as of old)	(I burn or cut)	(my hair)

775

A long time ago the Indians found out all about Tihpiknits Pahn. That is what they say. That is what I heard. I will tell you all about it.

A very good couple lived in an old Wowol Indian village. They were both good people. They were honest and they were good to each other. One day the wife died. The husband was overcome with grief. So were his parents-in-law.

After the wife was buried the husband would not leave her grave for a minute. He stayed there day and night for two days and three nights. Early on the third night the husband heard a noise in the grave. He listened and watched very closely. Finally he saw his wife come up out of the grave.

The husband kept very quiet. He saw his wife shake the earth from her clothes. She shook the earth from her hair and carefully put it back in place. She rearranged all of her clothes and rubbed her hands over her face. Then she looked in all directions. Soon she started toward the north.

Following quietly, the husband soon saw that the wife knew he was behind. She finally turned and told him to go on back to his people and stay there, that she was going to Tihpiknits Pahn to stay. But the husband did not want to go back. He wanted to be with his wife. So he followed her on.

At daylight the wife turned into a rotten log and the husband watched until dusk. He had to keep awake all of the time. At dusk the wife became her natural self and went on her way to the north.

The third night, when the wife became her proper form she again spoke to her husband. She told him that she must go a long way to the north and that he could not follow her, that there was a dangerous bridge to cross and that he would fall into the water. Besides, she told him, he was alive and would

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

775 smell bad to the dead people and that Tihpiknits would not let him stay there.

Turning again to the north, the wife went on and on to the north. By morning of the sixth day they could see a big water. Again the wife turned into a rotten log and waited for night to return.

The last night they soon came to the big water and the bridge. For the last time the wife cautioned the husband. She walked on the bridge. It was very narrow and rose and fell in the water and swayed from side to side. The bridge was very weak and in the dark the wife could not see it. But she had been a good woman, so she did not fall off.

After the husband knew that his wife was across he took a *pe-sa'-sin* (string) from his belt. The pesasin was made of milkweed string with down from the breast of the eagle twisted into it. It was *Trip'-ne* [supernatural]and would do for the husband anything that he wanted.

The husband threw one end of the pesasin across the big water until it reached the other side. He knew he could not cross the bridge, even though he had been good, because he was still alive. If he had been bad and had died he could not have crossed because he would have fallen in the water and have turned into a fish person, or a log of wood, or a shell.

The husband went across the water on the string. Tihpiknits had already sent the wife to her people. He told the husband that he could not go near the wife or her people, that he was alive and smelled bad.

Tihpiknits asked the husband why he had come to the Land of the Dead. He answered that he had grieved so for his dead wife that he had followed her each night and had kept awake each day so as not to miss her when she became her natural self in the evening.

The dead people all wanted the husband sent back, but Tihpiknits let him stay. But he made the husband stay alone all the rest of the night.

During the night the husband saw fires burning all about him. The *Win-at'-uns* ran and made fires for each tribe just like they did at the Lonewis for my father at *Sulawlahne* (Soo-law-lahn'-ne). Each tribe danced the Lonewis and sang the songs to the dead by itself. As soon as day began to break they all went back to their houses to sleep. Then everything

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

disappeared and all was quiet. There was nothing in sight. Everyone was gone and the husband sat alone.

Tihpiknits had given the husband a small basket of *toiuk* seed mush. As fast as he ate the mush it grew larger. So he was never out of it. The toiuk seed is the seed of the wild rice. It has a stem like wild oats and the head hangs over when the seed is ripe. It is covered with stickers which will cut your hands and make them bleed. When the Indian women gather toiuk seed they cover their hands and arms with mud. It is the best seed we have. When it is ground and mixed with water it rises like bread. That is why it did not get any smaller when they ate it.

For three days and nights the husband sat alone. On the third evening, while the Winatuns were building the fires, Tihpiknits told the husband that he had decided what to do about him. He was to go to his wife's house and stay that night. If he kept awake all night she could go back with him.

If the husband went to sleep he was to go home alone and hide for six days and nights. He was to tell no one where he had been, or of anything he had seen until the sixth night. Then he was to come out and give a big dance and tell everything. If he told before, Tihpiknits' watchman, the rattlesnake, would know it and he would die right then and there.

Tihpiknits asked the husband what he wanted to eat before he went to his wife's house and he answered, "*Sun-sun*, the mud-hen." So Tihpiknits gave him a fat one, but told him that it would make him sleep. By this time the husband was almost overcome from lack of sleep, but he ate the mud hen anyway.

After eating, the husband went to his wife's house. Soon she returned from the Lonewis dance. She talked with him for a long time and kept telling him over and over, "Don't you go to sleep. You must stay awake, or I cannot go back with you."

The husband kept awake until almost daylight, when he could not keep his eyes open any longer. His wife did all she could to keep him awake, but he went to sleep anyway.

In the morning the husband awakened to find his wife gone and a log of rotten wood in the house. Tihpiknits told the husband to go home and do as he had been told. When he died he was to come again and join his wife. But the wife could never return to this world again.

Tihpiknits gave the husband a fresh basket of toiuk seed mush and started him toward home. He crossed the big water

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

again on the pesasin string and traveled six days toward the south and the rancheria where his parents-in-law lived. Then he hid in the brush until after almost everyone at the rancheria had gone to sleep.

When all was quiet the husband crept quietly to the house where his parents-in-law lived and called to them. He could hear them crying softly inside. When he called they stopped crying and answered him. They were overjoyed at his return and stopped crying.

Upon being asked where he had been he said, "I have just been walking around the country. I must hide. Fix a place for me." A small lean-to was built on the side of the house. In this the husband hid. By morning no one could tell that the house had been changed at all.

In the morning the people at the rancheria were all surprised to see that the parents-in-law did not cry. They were so happy that the people knew the husband had returned. The people kept asking about him. He was just inside the thin tule partition and could hear everything that was said.

For five days and nights the husband hid and listened to the people inquiring about him. Then he could endure it no longer. He came out and told all the people to come together around the fire and he would tell them where he had been and all that he had seen. The people all came and listened to the husband's story.

Just as the husband finished talking, a rattlesnake, who was there as a watchman for Tihpiknits, bit him and he immediately fell dead.

That is how the Yokuts came to know where the dead people go and what they do in Tihpiknits Pahn.

YOIMUT'S STORY
THE GHOST DANCE

All of the Indian tribes around Tulare Lake had good Doctors. Some doctors were just *Ahntru* (Ahn'-troo). They could give people medicine and help them a little. But they could not help very much. Some of the doctors were *Trip'-ne* [had supernatural power]. They could do anything. They could make it rain. They could make anyone die. They could change themselves into coyote, bear, or eagle. We were always afraid of Tripne Doctors. We were not afraid of Ahnutru Doctors.

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946

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Thus two types of environmental factor, topographic access or hindrance, and "weather permitting" or hindering, affected the economic relation of the foothill Yokuts with their neighbors. Easy access does not necessarily mean exchanges of goods or other cultural items, but barriers do retard them. On the other hand, differing environments mean different products, and had Eastern Mono products been identical with Yokuts (yet equally inaccessible) the impetus to exchange would have been wanting. The topographic barrier was surmounted, but the weather barrier could not be, and it presumably served to maintain the strangeness and hostility between Eastern Mono and Yokuts, which only was assuaged temporarily and periodically by the presence of the mutually acculturated intermediaries, the Western Mono.

As suggested by the adjustments of trading periods to the seasonal environment, the physiographic setting was a factor in other tribal relationships and directional emphases. The plain or floor of the San Joaquin valley is abruptly ended on the eastern side by the rising wall of the Sierra Nevada; there is no slow progression. Of the foothills, the most meagre are treeless cones planted at the edge of the valley floor; behind them are higher, larger, interlocking cones blending into sharply massed mountains above which stand snow-capped peaks. This topographic antithesis was reflected in non-material culture of the Yokuts. A directional distinction of eastward, upstream, mountainward (no´tu) versus westward, downstream, plainsward (to´xil; da´ṭu) gave names to the moieties (where they occurred): Nutuwich, Tokelyuwich; it regulated spatial arrangements at large ceremonies; wars and competitions in myths were attributed to uplanders and lowlanders; and in cosmogonic beliefs eastward beyond the mountains is the mysterious "home" of the supernatural animals, while westward beyond the ocean is the "home" of the dead, a place of feasting and merriment.

Other directions of the conventional six were also important.[19] North (hosi´m) and south (homo´t) were constantly used as general designations for other Yokuts people, individuals or groups, when the tribal name was not known, i. e., "northerner" (hoso´mo), "southerner" (humti´nin). East and west (nutu´wič; tokelyu´wič) were rarely used for directional labels for tribes, not because they were moiety names (which the Central Foothill Yokuts lacked entirely) but because the east-west span of the valley is short, and close knowledge of neighbors by tribal name ran along the east to west flow of the streams. Comparably, the intervening watersheds discouraged north-south travel. In general, westerner (to´kya) was a term for any people living far west or southwest of

19 Usually named in order: S, W, N, E, U, D. (No color symbolism was associated with direction.)

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

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The door opened and in came Motsa dressed in a doctors' regalia, feather headdress, eagle down necklace, hand feathers, and all. It was so dark that Josie did not recognize the person, but Wepis did. The brother said, "That was Motsa. I guess he's going to kill us." That night Wepis was attacked with a bad pain in his side; the next morning he vomited blood and died.

4. Motsa killed Josie's mother, too. He gave the old lady some dried fish, which she ate. That night she and Josie slept together. She vomited blood and died. Josie did not wake up nor did anyone else, she died so quickly. They just saw the blood in the morning and the old lady lying dead.

5. "Doctor Foster," Josie's maternal grandfather, was a Wowol (Y). He was a powerful doctor but of good reputation. He and a friend of his, Kosewa, a famous Nutunutu doctor, went over to Telweyit to cure someone. These two men were in the sweat-house. Then Kosewa went out for his swim. Some Tachi rushed into the sweat-house and shot "Doctor Foster" with arrows. Motsa was with them. He took out a Spanish dagger and cut the head off the body and threw it down a well. Then Motsa said to the Tachi, "Why don't you kill that other man?" So they rushed out and shot him. Motsa severed his head too, and threw it in the water. This was told Josie by a Nutunutu eyewitness who was in the sweat-house.

6. After Kanti, the last good chief at Lemoore, died, his spirit went to a place called Kantu over toward the northwest. There was a large church at Kantu and many Mexicans lived there. Kanti's spirit was in that church. A man named Lompa asked Motsa to go over there with him to see it. Motsa was skeptical about it and said he would take some jimsonweed to see it. He ate some leaves and stems of this narcotic plant. Nobody knows whether he saw anything or not because he took an overdose; he got very sick and was in bed for a week.

[775]

7. Motsa would come into Josie's house and jeer at her; chiefly because of her friendship with Poso'o (Bob Tista), a good doctor whom all the Indians respected. He'd say to Josie, "What are you folks trying to do? Do you think you will ever get rich? What do you do with your money, do you bury it?" Josie would reply, "I don't want to get rich. I'd rather have one good friend that will believe my word." Then she called him toti (bad) and he called her the same in return.

Every one referred to Motsa as toti tiya (bad chief) or tihlthai (a person who would "rob anything from anybody"). He didn't care for he was not afraid of any one. He never expressed any sorrow over any one's death but just went about his own business as usual.

Now Motsa had a daughter named Gutai'i. He wanted a man for her. She wanted Pete's son. This man was already married to some girl. At a fandango Motsa tried to get this girl to leave the dance and go off with him, either because he wanted her himself or to try to make trouble with her husband. This made old Pete very mad, and he got his revenge. He killed Motsa with magic or poison, nobody knows how. Motsa got sick. He stayed in bed four days. In this time he got so thin he looked like he was all bones. Then he died. He was not more than fifty years old.

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The informant was indefinite as to Motsa's functions as an official chief. Kanti was the last influential chief at the Lemoore rancheria. He died without heirs. Just before his death he gave a dinner at which he selected three men and two women to act as the next chiefs, the women to fill their usual posts as hostesses. Motsa was one of the

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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one who passes the mound casts upon it a stone, or a string of shell-money, 484
or some other offering, which pious service will secure him from the dire calamity of dying away from home and friends.

Incremation is pretty general, though the Chukchansi are said to burn 764
only those who die a violent death or are snake-bitten, and bury all others. [766]
A widow or widower is expected to mourn one year, and if they remarry 587
within that time they are discountenanced. This is not saying that they do 765
not sometimes nowadays, since they have become debauched by "civiliza- [777]
tion", remarry in a week, even, occasionally; but there is good reason to
believe that in their better days of savagery they observed this period with much scrupulosity. But as soon as the first dance for the dead occurs it releases all the mourners in the tribe from further seclusion, even if it should happen only a few days after some death, and then they are free to enjoy all the gayeties as before.

As there has been some sharp discussion of the existence of an aborigi- 775
nal belief in annihilation of the soul after death, it is worth while to adduce the testimony of one who should know. J. H. Bethel, who lived among the Chukchansi twenty-one years, and spoke their language fluently, affirms that this belief is very generally diffused, both among the Yokuts and the Mono.

ORIGIN OF THE MOUNTAINS.

Once there was a time when there was nothing in the world but water. 773
About the place where Tulare Lake is now, there was a pole standing far up out of the water, and on this pole perched a hawk and a crow. First one of them would sit on the pole awhile, then the other would knock him off and sit on it himself. Thus they sat on top of the pole above the waters for many ages. At length they wearied of the lonesomeness, and they created the birds which prey on fish such as the kingfisher, eagle, pelican, and others. Among them was a very small duck, which dived down to the bottom of the water, picked its beak full of mud, came up, died, and lay floating on the water. The hawk and the crow then fell to work and gathered from the duck's beak the earth which it had brought up, and commenced making the mountains. They began at the place now known as Tu-hi'-cha-pa Pass, and the hawk made the east range,

7:Powers J-5 (1871-1876) 1877 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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For half an hour, perhaps, I slept. Then awaking suddenly I stood up in my blankets and looked down upon the camp, now broadly flooded by the level sun. It was silent as the grave. Even the unresting dogs slept at last, and the Indian ponies ceased from browsing, and stood still between the manzanita bushes to let the first sunshine warm and mellow up their hides, on which the hair stood out straight. All that wonderful night seemed like the phantasmagoria of a fevered dream. But before the sun was three-quarters of an hour high that tireless herald was out again, and going the rounds with a loud voice, to waken the heavy sleepers. In a few minutes the whole camp was in motion; not one remained, though many an eyelid moved like lead. The choir of singers took their places promptly, squatting on the ground; and a great company of men and women, bearing their offerings aloft, as before, joined in the same dance as described, with the same hissing *heh!* only it was performed in a disorderly rush-round, raising a great cloud of dust. Every five minutes, upon the ceasing of the singers, all faced suddenly to the west, ran forward a few paces, with a great clamor of mourning, and those in the front prostrated themselves, and bowed down their faces to the earth, while others stretched out their arms to the west, and piteously wrung them, with imploring cries, as if beckoning the departed spirits to return, or waving them a last farewell. This is in accordance with their belief in a Happy Western Land. Soon, upon the singers resuming, they all rose and joined again in the tumultuous rush-round. This lasted about an hour; then all was ended for that day, and the weary mourners betook themselves to their booths and to sleep. [775]

Perhaps the only feature that mars this wonderful exhibition, in a moral point of view, is the fact that any mourner, when about to consign a funeral plume or other ornament to the flames in honor of the dead, will accept money for it from a by-stander (provided he is an Indian), if only enough is offered. But they have scruples against selling objects on these occasions to a white man.

At Kern Lake, there was a small tribe which I am at a loss where to 101 place in my classification. There are only a very few of them left, having been removed to Tule River Reservation; and at this latter place I saw only

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
NS29 Yokuts NS29

38. Taehi formula spoken to the dead, to prevent their return as ghosts.

miin	ma	ðyiu	lakil	p'aana
	you	go	(another)	land
huyetoim	tan	p'aan		
(like)	that	land		
ohom	ma	heha	xoyi	
not	you	here	live	

STATUS OF YOKUTS AMONG THE LANGUAGES OF CALIFORNIA.

From what has been said, most fully of Yaudanchi, it appears that Yokuts forms one of a group of linguistic families occupying the greater part of the state of California, especially its central region. This group of families, which has been defined in a general discussion of the types of structure of the languages of California,[1] is marked by simple phonetics, the lack of incorporation, the presence of cases, and a simple transparent structure, and in addition to Yokuts includes Costanoan, Esselen, Majdu, Wintun, Yuki, Pomo, and perhaps other languages, besides showing certain general resemblance of type to Shoshonean, Lutuami, and Sahaptin. In certain respects Miwok or Moquelumnan, bordering Yokuts on the north, seems also to belong to this type. Chumash and Salinan, however, which are territorially in contact with Yokuts, occupying the adjacent coast, belong to another group, the Southwestern, which comprises only these two families and is marked by disagreement from the large Central Californian group in all the points that have been mentioned as typical of this.[2] The characteristics that probably distinguish the morphology of Yokuts most sharply from that of the other linguistic families belonging to the same Central group, are its development of systems of vocalic mutation as an

[1] R. B. Dixon and A. L. Kroeber, The Native Languages of California, American Anthropologist, n. s. V, 1, 1903. The families in one group are not etymologically or genetically related, but are structurally similar.

[2] Ibid., and Languages of the Coast of California South of San Francisco, p. 48 of this volume.

15: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906) 1906
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551 Gawu, pronounced Cow by the whites.

Hawasya.

Watokai, from watak, pine nut. Also the name of a man of the Tachi tribe.

Nahaach, otter.

Pitkachi, the name of a tribe on the San Joaquin River, was the name of an old man, now dead, on Tule River Reservation.

Taucha, dead, is the name of an Indian among the Gashowu, now near the San Joaquin River.

Women:

Wiamcha; second name, Dewat.

Wawachik.

Ilat.

Omom.

Yaudach. This name may be related to yawud, brush, or to the 171 tribal name Yaudanchi.

551 The reason of the strict taboo of the names of the dead has not yet 775 become clear. It is as with most customs: explanations can fre- 769 quently not be given for them by the people observing them. It is [182] probable that in many cases fear of the dead had some connection with the name-taboo. In some parts of California it is thought that the mention of a dead person, especially if he is recently deceased, is likely to bring about the return of his ghost with evil consequences for those visited. This definite explanation will, however, not hold everywhere. The Yokuts say that they are not influenced by any such belief. The only explanation they that can give for their observance of the custom is that the mention of the name causes the relatives of the dead person great grief. This is a motive which is undoubtedly present in the minds of all the Indians of California, whether or not they are in addition actuated by feelings of fear connected with the possible return of the dead. It was usual everywhere to obliterate in every way the memory of the dead as much as possible, especially by the destruction or removal of objects specifically associated with him. [768] The house in which he lived was in many regions burned, destroyed, or abandoned. It soon becomes very evident to any one dealing with the California Indians that mention of their dead relatives and friends usually causes them acute grief, especially among the older people, and that, when they have reason to believe the mention to be deliberate and not made through ignorance, it is received as a deep affront. [688] Among some tribes the greatest insult one person could inflict upon another was to speak of the latter's dead relatives, especially to mention them by name. In northwestern California such a mention, even if accidental, could only be compensated by a considerable payme....

A. L. Kroeber.